The Dispute Over The Army's Size
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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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RED ARMY VICTORIES WORRY REACTIONARIES

Civil Rights Committee Pledges Aid To 'Militant'

CRDC Will Bring Issue Before Labor and Liberal Movements; Postmaster General's Decision On Mail Rights Still Pending

At a meeting of its National Committee in New York City on Feb. 9, the Civil Rights Defense Committee pledged full assistance to *The Militant* in safeguarding its mailing rights. These rights have been endangered by the proceedings initiated by Attorney General Biddle and the Solicitor's Office of the Post Office Department.

Meanwhile no news has been received from Washington about the recommendations of the Post Office Hearing Board which presided at a hearing on *The Militant* held in Washington on Jan. 21, or from Postmaster General and Democratic National Chairman Frank C. Walker, who will make the decision on Biddle's request to bar *The Militant* from the mails.

Since the Washington hearing all the issues of *The Militant* have been held up at the New York Post Office for a number of days and then released for delivery with the statement that they contain nothing in violation of the mailing laws.

CRDC PLANS

The Civil Rights Defense Committee plans to conduct a vigorous campaign acquainting the labor and liberal movements with the important issues of free speech and free press involved in the moves against The Militant. It views the government action as a continuation of the attack upon free speech and civil liberties which arose with the Minneapolis labor trial of 1941.

The members of the National Committee heard a report by Albert Goldman, attorney for *The Militant*, on the Post Office Department hearing in Washington.

Goldman pointed out that at this hearing Post Office Attorney O'Brien had not questioned the truth of the so-called "objectionable" matter published in *The Militant*, but had asserted that this material tended to have the effect of discouraging enlistment in the armed forces and was therefore non-mailable.

The material cited by the Post Office as "objectionable" consisted solely of statements of fact and opinion, including criticism of administration policy.

Goldman warned that if criticism of government actions and officials could be made the basis for revoking mailing rights of a newspaper, freedom of press would be seriously threatened and every jail in the country might soon be filled.

STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN JAMES T. FARRELL

In a statement to the National Committee, James T. Farrell, noted author and Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committe said:

"This is the first move of this kind taken against an anti-fascist labor paper during this war. Dozens of labor and liberal papers, including the *Nation*, *New Republic*, *New Leader*, have already protested against the arbitrary actions of the Post Office Department and pointed out their resemblance to the suppressions of labor and liberal papers during 1917-1918 by Attorney General Palmer and Postmaster General Burleson.

"Attorney General Biddle's letter, together with the presence at the hearings of Henry A. Schweinhaut, prosecuting attorney in the Minneapolis case, indicate that this action against *The Militant* represents a continuation of the attack upon free speech and constitutional rights centering around the Minneapolis trial. Hearings on the convictions of the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders and Local 544-CIO members have just been concluded at the St. Louis Circuit Court of Appeals.

"Attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union and The Militant have announced their intention of taking the case before the courts in event of an adverse decision. The Civil Rights Defense Committee is no less obliged to do its part in fighting this assault upon the freedom of the press."

At this same meeting the Civil Rights Defense Committee also offered to collaborate with the newspaper *Labor Action* in defending its mailing rights. Issues of *Labor Action* have also been held up by the Post Office Department for the past two months.

Union Man Hits Post Office Move

The attempt to ban *The Militant* from the mails is a dangerous sign that free speech is under attack in this country, says an article printed in the Jan. 6 issue of *The Searchlight*, newspaper of Local 659 of the United Auto Workers, CIO, Flint, Mich.

The article, entitled "Only More Democracy Can Save Democracy," submitted by Carl G. Johnson, said in part:

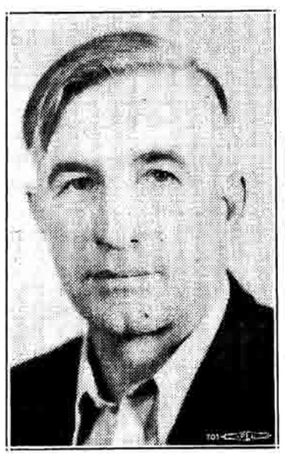
"Too many people feel that certainly this country, which is fighting a total war for the 'four freedoms,' one of which is free speech for the world, is not going to scuttle that freedom at home. However when we realize that 'free speech' to labor is in the way of the greed of the privileged few who hold a heavy club in Washington, we should be traitors to the cause of labor if we did not question the fulfillment of that pledge."

The article then refers to the attack on *The Militant* as "our democracy scuttling one of our own ships belonging to that class of ships known as 'free speech.' It was only a small ship and perhaps many of us will think it was an unimportant one but whatever the truth of that may be, it exposes a very dangerous tendency. . .

"I am not pleading for any minority party in particular, what I am trying to point out is that labor must not allow any minority to be suppressed, for somewhere along those minorities lies the solution to the difficulties of today. . ."

KELLY POSTAL APPEAL FILLED ON FEBRUARY 15

NEW YORK, Feb. 13.—The appeal on the conviction of Kelly Postal, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, will be heard before the Minnesota Supreme Court on Monday, Feb. 15, it was announced by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The Civil Rights Defense Committee is directing the defense in this case.



KELLY POSTAL

The charges against Kelly Postal followed the decision of members of Local 544 to leave the AFL and join the CIO in the spring of 1941. The membership voted, as was their right, to take their local treasury funds with them into the CIO.

In collaboration with powerful anti-labor state officials in Minnesota, Daniel J. Tobin, AFL Teamsters International President, obtained indictments against Kelly Postal for embezzlement of union funds.

The first trial against Kelly Postal on these charges in 1942 was thrown out of court by the judge.

On no better evidence, Postal was convicted in a second trial, which is now being appealed.

Kelly Postal was one of the 28 defendants in the famous Minneapolis trial of the 544-CIO trade unionists and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. He was one of the five found not guilty by the jury. His present conviction is an outgrowth of that trial in the instigation of which Tobin also played a leading part.

THE ISSUE AT STAKE

Postal was not accused of misusing the union funds personally—his supposed "guilt" consisted in obeying the virtually unanimous vote of the union at a regular membership meeting. Thus, his appeal involves an issue of enormous importance to the entire labor movement. That issue is:

Do the members of a trade union have the democratic right to decide for themselves the disposition of their local union funds?

It is imperative to prevent this dangerous precedent against labor's democratic rights and this grave injustice to an honorable and militant trade union leader. Postal is threatened with a long term prison sentence in case of an adverse decision.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee reports that the legal costs in this appeal will amount to about $1,000. All friends of labor and civil liberties are asked to send their contributions immediately to the national office of the Commitee at 160 Fifth Ave., New York City.

New 'Darlan Deal' Reported Brewing With Hungary

The case with which French fascists reached an agreement with the American government in North Africa has given hope to many of Hitler's henchmen that should the Nazis fall, fascism will not necessarily topple with them.

The Hungarian reactionaries, now allies of Hitler, are trying to arrange another "Darlan deal," according to William S. Gailmor, news commentator speaking over New York radio station WHM on Feb. 14. Gailmor said:

"The House of Horthy believes in buttering its bread on both sides. It would like to win with Hitler if Hitler wins. It would like to win with the United Nations if Hitler loses. With the Nazis on the critical list in Europe, the Horthy mob is making frantic efforts to win the blessings of Washington and London."

Gailmor said that Count Bethlen, former prime minister of Hungary, is en route to or in Washington on "an official, secret mission."

"Bethlen hasn't held public office for some time. He'd be a natural for some deal in behalf of a post-war Hungary. It even might be suggested that he has been on the outs with Horthy. . . . Considering what has happened in North Africa, and what's happening in Spain, Bethlen may be optomistic." (*PM*, Feb. 15.)

They're All Afraid of It

Reprinted from British New Leader, Jan. 23, 1943.

Gandhi's Fast

By Felix Morrow

The 21-day hunger strike which Gandhi began Feb. 10, when his demand for unconditional release was refused, is in its own way a sign that despite six months of bestial repressions the Indian masses are still valiantly pressing forward for their independence.

The Viceroy's refusal to release Gandhi can only mean that mass activity continues on such a scale that the British Raj fears that the masses would look upon Gandhi's release as a victory won by struggle. Undoubtedly the refusal was made with some trepidation: Gandhi is 73 years old—an extraordinarily advanced age for an Indian—and were he to die soon after his hunger strike all India would lay his death at Britain's door.

The real situation in India must be serious indeed for the Viceroy to take such a chance, particularly since British officialdom has always recognized that after Gandhi's death it is certain that far more irreconcilable leaders will win authority among India's masses.

Why Gandhi Acts Now

While the mass movement is so intense that the Viceroy dare not release Gandhi, the development of that same movement has clearly impelled Gandhi to act. Recent press reports noted that 'younger" and "more irreconcilable" elements have taken the lead among the masses and that the Congress party heads fear that the leadership is slipping from their hands. Slipping, that is, toward the left.

The rigid censorship—it is, in fact, a virtual blackout—conceals from us who the "more irreconcilable" elements are. From scattered details it appears that there has been a revival of the Congress Socialist Party, the left wing of the Congress; and its condemnation as "Trotskyist" by the pro-British Stalinists would indicate that at least one wing of the Socialists is conducting itself militantly. We have seen one leaflet in which these Socialists proclaimed the formation of a Free India government. Moreover, out of the great strike wave of last August and September—strikes conducted against the will of the Stalinist and right wing union leaders, must have come new worker-leaders

Faced with the prospect of losing the leadership of the

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Soviet Victories Are Topic Of Sunday Open Forum In N.Y.

Beginning Sunday, Feb. 21, at 8 P. M., and each week thereafter at the same time, the New York School of Social Science will sponsor a Sunday Open Forum at its lecture hall, Second Floor, 116 University Place.

For the first of what promises to be a lively and informative series on the most topical subjects of the day, the School of Social Science will present Felix Morrow, editor of the magazine, **Fourth International**, on "The Class Meaning of the Soviet Victories."

Other speakers promised for future lectures will include James P. Cannon, V. R. Dunne, Albert Goldman, Farrell Dobbs, C. Charles, John G. Wright, Rose Karsner, William F. Warde and others.

Admission to the Sunday Open Forum will be 25 cents. Lectures will be followed by a discussion and questioned period, and refreshments.

Information about coming lectures will be mailed on request, and will also be available through notices in *The Militant*.

Meanwhile, you can start the season right by attending the Morrow lecture on Feb. 21.

Finland Asks Help From Britain-U.S. Against the USSR

Churchill Reported To Have Met Finnish Minister in Turkey

By PHILIP BLAKE

German imperialism has been struck such powerful blows that the defenders of the Soviet Union are finding substantial grounds for the hope that the Red Army and the Soviet masses may be able to defeat the Nazi foe.

But can we permit ourselves to hope, therefore, that this will assure victory for the Soviet Union in the sense of putting an end to the threat of imperialist attack which has hung over the Soviet masses for more than 25 years?

The answer to this question is indicated by an examination of the role of Finland in the war.

Finland joined in Hitler's attack on the USSR in June, 1941, for purposes which her friends in the democratic capitalist countries now concede were "aggressive" (*N. Y. Times* editorial, Feb. 5, 1943.)

FINLAND'S ROLE

In the last 20 months since then, the Finnish government has cooperated actively with Hitler, giving him among other things air bases in the northern part of the country which are used to attack United Nations convoys in the Arctic Ocean, and joining in the siege of Leningrad.

With the tide beginning to turn against Nazi Germany, Finland has begun to seek aid against the Soviet Union from the capitalist democratic nations. In a speech before the Finnish Riksdag on Feb. 2, President Risto Ryti, who has since been re-elected to his office, declared:

"Civilized nations can never sink so low as not to acknowledge the rights of a nation to fight for its life and freedom."

This was an obvious reference to Britain and the United States, for the Axis powers already rec-

(Continued on page 2)

They Fear Post-War Role Of The Soviet Union And Want Something Done About It Now

With the recapture of Rostov and Voroshilovgrad on Sunday, Kharkov on Tuesday, and Kursk the preceding week, the Red Army has smashed what was, only two weeks ago, the Bryansk - Orel - Kursk - Kharkov - Voroshilovgrad - Rostov line of heavily fortified points holding in subjection the Ukraine, the Kuban, the Donetz basin and the north Caucasus.

Last week we permitted ourselves to hope that the continuation of the offensive would force the Nazis to abandon the entire line and fall back to the Dnieper. This week that is already a certainty!

Especially important are the freeing of some of the richest agricultural areas in the Kuban and the Ukraine, enabling the Soviet masses to replenish the depleted food supplies; the winning of direct lines of supply to the Southern front; the vast stores of natural resources available in the Donetz basin.

The Soviet victories have already inspired new efforts of the masses in the occupied countries of Europe to free themselves from the Nazi yoke. Every day additional signs multiply of upsurges in Yugoslavia, Greece, Holland, as well as in the Nazi vassal-states of Bulgaria and Rumania.

In England and America too, all reports indicate, the Soviet victories have brought Soviet prestige, pro-Soviet sentiment, to a new height among the masses.

REACTIONARY FEARS

But Soviet victories do not have the same effect on reactionary forces in the United States. On the contrary, the latest victories have brought into the open a good deal of the anti-Soviet sentiment that has hitherto been confined for the most part to private and unpublicized discussion.

The *N. Y. Times*, which authoritatively reflects the views of America's Sixty Families, reveals the growing fears of the reactionaries in a leading editorial in its Feb. 14 issue. Noting the powerful blows dealt Hitler and his "New Order" by the Red Army, the editorial then states:

"But as the Red Armies plunge forward, they are also raising many questions in many minds as to what other order they have written on their banners, and the greater the Russian victories grow the more insistent these questions become. They are raised in private conversations, in the press, over the radio and in Congress."

"FRANK DISCUSSION"

The *Times* says "a frank discussion of the problem" is required, and proceeds to explain very sympathetically the basis of the current fears of reactionaries about the Soviet Union.

One of these fears, the editorial says, "is that the power which has the greatest share in victory will also dictate the peace, and that Russia, having the power, will also use it for conquest, or at least for gaining 'strategic frontiers.' In this connection we cannot fail to note the Washington dispatches yesterday, reporting that the Soviet Embassy is circulating an English translation of an editorial from Pravda, asserting an emphatic claim to Bessarabia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, on the ground that they are legally a part of Russia. This is a claim that our Government has not recognized."

And the tone of the editorial unmistakably conveys the idea that the Times does not think the government should recognize such claims.

The *Times* then calls attention to Stalin's promises and commitments as recorded in his ac-

(Continued on page 2)

48 Hour Week Order Will Be Used To Resist Wage Demands

By ANTHONY MASSINI

The 48-hour week order, established for certain areas by presidential order last week, will not have any effect on many war industries where the 48-hour week is already in effect, but it will be useful to the administration in combating demands for wage raises to meet the rising cost of living, particularly in the case of the United Mine Workers.

That precisely this is intended in connection with the UMW's demands for a $2 a day wage raise for its members in bituminous coal fields was revealed this week by **PM's** labor reporter, James Wechsler, who has many close contacts with the administration in Washington and often calls the turn in advance.

IMPORTANCE OF UMW DEMANDS

On Feb. 15 Wechsler reported: "Administration officials are considering a plan to increase the work week in the nation's coal mines to 48 hours — with time and a half for overtime — to forestall John L. Lewis' campaign against the wage stabilization program."

The administration is particularly concerned with preventing the UMW from securing wage increases when its contracts with the mineowners expire on April 1. The UMW has strongly denounced the War Labor Board's Little Steel formula which prohibits wage increases of more than 15% above the Jan., 1941 levels, although living costs have increased much more than that figure during the last two years

The Little Steel formula has also drawn opposition from leaders of the CIO and AFL, acting under pressure from members. But the administration is aware that Murray, Green and Co. are much more responsive to pressure from the administration than Lewis, who hopes to win new support in the ranks of the CIO and AFL by showing his ability to win wage raises for the miners at a time when practically all wages have been frozen.

The administration understands that wage raises for the miners will compel Murray and Green to save face by insisting on wage raises for their members, and that is why it is so determined to head off a general fight against the Little Steel formula by defeating the UMW now.

EMPLOYERS APPROVE

The first evidence of this tactic of refusing higher wages unless more hours are worked appeared on Feb. 9, a few hours before the announcement of the Roosevelt 48-hour week order, when the War Labor Board refused wage increases to 180,000 workers in the "Big Four" meat packing houses.

Reporting the WLB decision in the Feb. 10 N. Y. *Times*, Louis Stark said:

"In a concurring opinion on the wage question, the industry members urged that extension of the present 40-hour work week to 48 hours would permit many workers, including packing house employes, to increase their 'take home' earnings while at the same time the longer work week would ease pressure on the Board for wage increases. . ."

ANOTHER DANGER

While this tactic for resisting raises in wage rates can be effective for the time being only in cases where the workers are working less than 48 hours a week, the danger exists that it may be revised for use in cases where the 48-hour week already is in operation.

This was shown on Feb. 15 when War Manpower Commissioner McNutt said "that the basic work week, in some areas, may have to be raised beyond 48 hours a week, possibly to 52. . ." (N. Y. *Times*, Feb. 16.)

'Daily Worker' Approves Davies' Slander Movie

As was to be expected, the Stalinists are giving wholehearted approval to the soon-to-be-released Warner Brothers' motion picture, "Mission to Moscow." This film is based upon the book of the same name which was written by ex-Ambassador Joseph E. Davies.

"Hollywood's First Realistic Film About the Soviet Union," says a *Daily Worker* headline on Feb. 13. It "will make screen history . . . a chapter of contemporary history," etc.

What the Stalinists mean is that it will present Stalin's version of history, and particularly of the history of the Moscow Trials.

This is shown by a *Daily Worker* interview with Walter Huston, who plays the part of Davies in the picture:

"Discussing the film from the point of view of showmanship, Huston pointed out certain particularly dramatic scenes.

"'Take the treason trials, for instance,' he said. 'Davies told me that in all the thirty years in which he practiced law he never witnessed anything so dramatic as those trials. I think the people who see this picture will get the same feeling'."

Film Will Present Stalinist Version Of Moscow Trials

WHAT THE PICTURE WON'T SHOW

Apparently Davies did not tell Huston that when he first witnessed the "dramatic" trials, he regarded them — along with almost every other informed person — as frame-ups engineered by the Stalinist bureaucracy to slander and eliminate all working class leaders who might attract support in the struggle to restore Soviet democracy in the USSR.

The interview with Huston continued: "'Does the film bring out what the trials meant in terms of Russia's present war effort?' we asked.

"'Oh yes,' Huston said emphatically. 'You know these people who were tried confessed that they were plotting with Germany. It's made very clear that they were traitors to their country, and that in sentencing them to death, Russia got rid of its fifth column'."

Thus Huston confirms the belief expressed several times by The Militant that the picture will be used to whitewash Stalin's bloody extermination of the co-workers of Lenin, the generation that led the Russian Revolution and founded the workers' state. It also confirms the need for a widespread educational campaign to counteract the lies about the Moscow trials.

Small Business Complains It Faces Extinction In War

By C. CHARLES

Threatened with wholesale extinction, the small business interests of the country, championed by the Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives, lashed back this week at the ever-advancing big corporations, and their representatives in the government.

The Committee charged, in a report issued on Feb. 14, that it had received testimony presenting "a shocking picture of bureaucratic buck-passing, incompetent and listless administration and almost traitorous activities on the part of certain interests to protect their companies at the expense of the war effort."

The report declared that thousands of small businesses—both small-scale industrial plants and retail stores—face extermination because of lack of sympathetic consideration in the war program.

$1-A-YEAR MEN

An example of the tie-up between government bodies, such as the War Production Board, and the large corporations, was given in testimony before the Small Business Committee by Herbert Jamul, who revealed that the major soap companies avoided the WPB order freezing cocoanut oil, adding that:

"The representatives of these soap companies were serving as dollar-a-year men in high position in the WPB; that these representatives tipped their companies off that the WPB was going to freeze cocoanut oil; that these companies, in consequence, proceeded to dump their stocks of cocoanut oil into their soap stocks so that when the freezing order came thru they had no cocoanut oil."

The WPB has admitted that at the end of Nov. 1942 16 firms held 42% of all war business, while more than half the value of all war contracts are in the hands of 41 concerns.

Small business has received only about one per cent of all war orders. By far, production of war goods is the chief industry of the country.

The tendency toward concentration of business is to continue, particularly under the government's plans for the "rationalization" of industry which are already crystallized by the WPB:

The Small Business Committee has protested against these plans whereby the inefficient plants would be weeded out and industrial production concentrated in the most up-to-date factories.

Socialists have pointed out that the tendency towards elimination of small business and the concentration and centralization of industry into the hands of ever fewer owners is a law of capitalist economic development. This law was first formulated by Karl Marx in his great book, *Capital*, 75 years ago.

The end result of this process is monopoly and cartels.

The war is merely speeding up this inevitable evolution.

The small business men are by and large putting up a hopeless fight against their more powerful, more technically efficient and larger competitors.

THREE POSITIONS

Three programs have been advanced in this situation:

1. The stand of Big Business is that this development is excellent and should not be interfered with. Indeed, it is excellent — for them.

2. The position of small scale business is to try to artificially bring back the conditions of small scale business such as existed in the past. This is a reactionary tendency, because instead of striving to go forward, it attempts to go backward.

3. The position of the Marxist Socialists, organized in the United States in the Socialist Workers Party, calls for social ownership of the large-scale plants. Under this program the benefits of technical progress, better methods of production, and efficiency which comes with large scale production, would benefit the great masses of the people, instead of a handful of monopolists.

WLB Chairman Calls For Anti-Union Laws

By MILTON ALVIN

The role of the "public" members of the War Labor Board became clearer last week when William H. Davis, chairman of the Board, proposed legislation which would further encroach on the rights and independence of trade unions.

Speaking before the Columbia University Institute of Arts and Sciences, Davis called for legal steps to prevent so-called labor racketeering. This is the "issue" used as a stock-in-trade by all reactionaries in the service of monopoly capitalists to attack the labor movement and to attempt to discredit it in the eyes of misinformed people. Davis wants the government to regulate elections of union officers, to limit their terms of office and to force the unions to publish their financial statements.

The capitalist daily press was quick to take advantage of Davis' remarks. The outspokenly anti-labor *N. Y. World-Telegram*, in which Westbrook Pegler attacks the unions virtually every day in his column, points out editorially that Davis's proposals should be enacted into law because he is a "friend" of labor. The rest of the pack can be expected to utilize his speech in a similar way.

The actions of Davis, Wayne B. Morse and other supposedly impartial "public" members of the WLB show how the cards are stacked against the workers on that body. The WLB, since its formation 14 months ago, has established a long record of anti-labor moves familiar to every worker, now squeezed by job-freezing, wage-freezing and rising prices and taxes.

COMPROMISE UNIONS

The presence of labor representatives on this Board as captives of the boss-"public" majority of the Board only compromises the unions, involving them in responsibility for the actions of the Board itself and weakening their struggle to maintain working conditions and living standards.

The workers who have struggled for years and sacrificed so much to establish the right of unions to their independence and collective bargaining should demand that their representatives resign at once from the WLB.

Independent unions, free from government interference and restrictions, depending on their own organized strength have made many gains for the workers in the past. These gains can be held and further advances made by the realization that labor must depend only upon its own strength and independent organizations.

20% of San Francisco Meat Sold Through Black Market Channels

By JIM LONG

Black Market meat constitutes 20% of the meat sold in the San Francisco Bay Area.

This statement comes from Dr. Earl Rolph, OPA official, and was published recently in the *San Francisco News*. Ranchers, packers, and wholesalers claim that the percentage is even higher.

Cattle rustling has come into existence again on nearby ranges, and ranchers are forced to ride their herd at night, reports the *San Francisco News*.

In spite of extensive sale of Black Market meat, only one arrest has been made so far for the sale of meat not inspected.

Thus, while meat distribution agencies and government officials continue to talk about the situation, the working people's health remains in danger from uninspected meat.

Eight different agencies of the meat industry and the government have been making daily reports on the meat situation. So far nothing has been accomplished; conditions are the same as they were a month ago.

TEMPERS GROW SHORT

Three butchers have been beaten up by irate and hungry shipyard workers who found the counter bare, according to Milton Maxwell, representative of the local butchers' union.

Butchers have been advised by Maxwell to call police and file charges of inciting to riot the next time a crowd got out of hand.

It is easy to explain why tempers are so short. Some butchers make a practice of selling only on order. All of the customer's order is wrapped in one package, with the total amount marked on the package. If there is any question as to weight or quality, the customer is likely to be told next time there is no meat.

A check on prices is very difficult when meat is handled in this manner. The butcher can ignore ceiling prices with ease.

Of course it is not the small butchers who are to blame for the Black Market. They themselves are just as much the victims of the Black Market and the big profiteering packers as are the consumers.

The recent friction shows the need for creating joint committees of unions, consumers and small retailers to protect their common interests against the profiteers.

Next Week's Class

of the New York School of Social Science

February 24, 8:15 P. M.

"The Marxist Revolution in Logic"

William Warde, instructor

116 University Pl. New York

Red Army Victories Worry Reactionaries

(Continued from page 1)

ceptance of the Atlantic Charter, the Lend-Lease pact with Washington, and the Anglo-Soviet 20-year treaty. These bind the Kremlin to collaborate with Britain and the U. S. in re-establishing a capitalist Europe.

A HALF-VEILED THREAT

The Soviet government agreed to observe the provisions of these agreements, the editorial continues, pointedly declaring that "it was on the basis of such acceptances that both America and Great Britain agreed to extend material and other aid to Russia."

"In these circumstances," the *Times* concludes, "it seems clear that further and more explicit agreements are necessary in order to give concrete meaning to the Atlantic Charter and to erect a common defense system for the future." In plain English this means that still more "concrete" commitments should be demanded of the Soviet Union.

SIZE OF ARMY

Another indication of reactionary concern about the Soviet victories was given last week by Arthur Krock, prominent Washington commentator of the *N. Y. Times*. Discussing the general staff's explanation for its proposals to build a U. S. Army of more than 10,000,000 men, he wrote the following in his Feb. 12 column:

"The answers of the War Department are uttered in private, and they may be good ones. It is possible to speculate that one of them is this: to assure the kind of peace that will prevent a new war the United States must have overwhelming military strength behind its delegates to the peace conference. A victorious Russia, master of Europe, may need more than the sermons of Henry Wallace to refrain from seeking too high a price for its contribution, heavy with blood, suffering and glorious fortitude.

"THAT WOULD BE AN ANSWER CALLING FOR SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. . ."

Mr. Krock is an unusually sensitive recorder of capitalist sentiment. If he already publicly suggests "serious consideration" for the idea of confronting the Soviet Union at the "peace table" with a 10-millioned U. S. Army, he is expressing relatively politely the far blunter views being voiced privately by those for whom he speaks.

DIFFERENT CLASS INTERESTS

Thus, even before the Nazis are beaten, the fundamental class attitude of the capitalists toward the Soviet Union is revealing itself. They know that behind the Soviet victories and making them possible is the nationalized property system created by the October revolution. They are not too sure — and with good reason! — that the bureaucratic regime of Stalin will last long after a definitive Soviet victory over the Nazis. They fear that in place of Stalin and his concessions to world capitalism there will arise again the democratic Soviets in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky — the spirit of the world socialist revolution.

That's what capitalist reaction fears will be the outcome of Soviet victory. For exactly the same reason all workers truly loyal to THEIR class are fervent supporters of the Soviet Union, knowing that its victory is also the victory of workers everywhere.

Trust-Buster Arnold Gets Kicked Upstairs

By ELOISE BLACK

Thurman Arnold, former Assistant Attorney General of the United States, who rose to fame as chief "trust buster" for the Department of Justice, has recently been kicked upstairs to a post where his activities will be less embarrassing to the monopoly corporations.

Roosevelt's nomination of Arnold to the post of associate justice of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia will effectively put an end to Arnold's investigations and revelations of the growth and effect of trustification in the U. S.

It was Arnold who first focused public attention upon the resistance of the monopolies to the industrial expansion required by the war program.

WHAT ARNOLD REVEALED

In his annual report for the fiscal year of 1941 he stated: "Looking back over ten months of defense effort we can now see how much it has been hampered by the attitude of powerful private groups dominating basic industries who have feared to expand their production because expansion would endanger their future control of industry. . .

"Anti-trust investigations during the past year have shown that there is not an organized basic industry in the United States which has not been restricting production by some device or other in order to avoid what they call 'the ruinous over-production after the war'. . ."

Arnold's investigations, which were spread over a period of years revealed irrefutable evidence that the dominant steel, aluminum, copper and auto interests had stubbornly blocked the war program until assured of maintaining their control over production for the duration of the war and the period to follow.

His campaign reached the highest point shortly after Pearl Harbor when he revealed that Standard Oil was continuing its collaboration with the Nazi I. G. Farben cartel.

WHY HE HAD TO GO

Arnold was not transferred from his Department of Justice post because of pro-labor activities or because he was successful in combating the tendency toward greater and greater monopolization of industry.

On the contrary, he was ever on the lookout for opportunities to attack the union movement on the ground that it too was a "trust." And no one knows better than Arnold himself that the monopoly forces in this country are stronger today than ever before, that they are growing even more powerful as a result of the war program.

The explanation for Arnold's removal lies simply in the fact that Big Business feels it can no longer afford to have its profitable secrets dragged into the open, especially during a period when the masses are being called on to assume ever-greater burdens to pay for the war. That is why Arnold had to go.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

Finland Seeks Allied Help Against USSR

(Continued from page 1)

ognize the Finnish government's "rights" to participate in the destruction of the Soviet Union.

The Finnish government apparently has reason to believe that such appeals will not go in vain, and that the nations which came to its aid in the Finnish-Soviet war of 1939-40 will not let it down now.

First of all, the United States has steadfastly refused to declare war on Finland even though it is being used as a base to attack U. S. ships going to Murmansk.

The British government was forced after a long period of waiting to declare war on Finland, but it did so reluctantly, and would welcome an opportunity to rescind this action.

There is plainly a world of difference between the democratic capitalist attitude to the Finnish ally of Hitler today and their attitude to the Soviet Union in 1939.

'TIMES' ANSWERS RYTI

From all appearances, the same people in Britain and the U. S. who aided the Finnish war against the workers' state in 1939 with airplanes, "volunteers," the expulsion of the USSR from the League of Nations and a moral embargo on arms to the USSR from U. S. manufacturers, are quite willing to help the Finnish government extricate itself from its present position.

The *N. Y. Times*, spokesman and defender of American monopoly capitalist interests, was quick to answer Ryti's appeal. In an editorial on Feb. 5 it declared:

"If the United Nations win there is a good chance that the Finnish rights to self-government and economic outlets will be respected. THEY WILL BE IF AMERICA HAS ANY SAY IN THE MATTER, and they can be if the German menace is permanently removed."

That the British government's views on this matter do not differ greatly from those expressed by the *N. Y. Times* is shown by the following UP dispatch from Stockholm on Feb. 12:

"Prime Minister Winston Churchill met the Finnish Minister to Ankara, Baron Yrjoe Koskinen, during his recent visit to Turkey and is believed to have received from him Finland's estimate of the possibilities of peace with Russia, advices from Helsinki said tonight."

Permit us to recall that Britain is still at war with Finland! This unprecedented interview between ostensible warring ministers is reported here as though it happens every day!

This is only one in a series of recent press reports that British and American authorities are negotiating with the Finnish government.

It can be argued that British-United States interests in Finland arises from military considerations, from a desire to get Finland out of the war for the purpose of weakening the Axis. But there is more to it than that. Also involved is the question of Finland's post-war role, according to the informed commentator, Arthur Krock.

DECISIVE FACTOR

Examining the present position of Finland in the *N. Y. Times* of Feb. 9, Krock says that "a realistic decision on our relations with Finland approaches, and doubtless Mr. Schoenfeld (U.S. Minister to Finland, in Washington at the time this was written) has been discussing this with the President and the State Department. This realistic decision is, 'Who is not with us is against us.'

"But in the opinion of authoritative officials here, this decision cannot be reached with confidence in the case of Finland UNTIL MUCH MORE IS KNOWN OF RUSSIA'S POST-WAR PLANS AND THE DIRECTION OF OUR OWN POLICY."

In other words, according to Krock, Washington officials are unprepared to lay down an ultimatum to Finland that "who is not with us is against us" because they are not certain about the Soviet Union's post-war policies.

This interesting explanation will be readily understood by all those who are acquainted with Finland's relations to the Soviet Union ever since the workers' state granted independence to Finland after the first world war.

IMPERIALIST OUTPOST

The imperialists of all countries aided the Finnish capitalists and landlords in smashing the socialist revolution in 1918 because they realized that Finland was a dagger pointed at the heart of the Soviet Union, Leningrad.

Since then, the Finnish government — whether social-democratic, bourgeois democratic or semi-fascist—has always functioned as a pawn of the great capitalist powers, as an outpost of world imperialism on the Soviet border.

It is only natural, therefore, that those who fear the influence of the Soviet Union after the war are today concerned about maintaining and strengthening the outposts such as Finland from which pressure could be directed against the workers' state.

STALIN'S METHODS

The Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union has proved wholly incapable of solving the problem of Finland. In fact one of the most damning indictments of the bureaucracy is that under its domination the Soviet Union failed to remain an attractive force to the Finnish masses, as it had been in 1918 when the Soviet Union was far weaker.

Aware of the great danger which Finland presented to the Soviet Union, Stalin tried in 1939 to solve the problem by sheer military force. While he succeeded in temporarily winning a few strategic bases, the invasion of Finland weakened the Soviet Union by alienating the sympathies of the workers of Finland and the whole world.

Today Stalin still relies on military force alone to eliminate the threat which a capitalist Finland poses. The Kremlin bureaucracy neither desires nor is capable of arousing the Finnish socialist revolution which alone can transform Finland into an ally of the Soviet Union.

DANGER REMAINS

But apparently the Stalinist method is not acceptable to powerful elements in the ruling classes of Britain and the U. S.

Thus, whether Stalin gives in to his allies' demands to maintain the "independence" of capitalist Finland, or whether he comes to a clash with them over this question, the Soviet Union will remain in danger of imperialist attack.

Finland is only one example. There are numerous other countries which could be used in the same way—Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, etc.

The truth is that the Soviet Union will always be in danger as long as capitalism remains in power in the advanced countries.

Giraud Document Filled With Pro-Fascist Views

By MICHAEL CORT

The fact that Vichy laws and atmosphere still predominate in North Africa, that Spanish Loyalists are still in African prisons, that trade unions remain outlawed and Jews persecuted, is no surprise to those who know the French Civil and Military Commander-in-Chief, General Henri Honore Giraud.

While Giroud differs from his former chief, Petain, in that he is violently anti-German (fearing the appetite of France's conqueror and imperialist rival), he thinks and acts in the manner of Hitler and Petain on all questions relating to the workers.

DOWN ON PAPER

Giraud's pro-fascist philosophy, now being revealed by his policies in North Africa, was actually set down on paper immediately after he escaped from the German prison fortress of Konigstein last year. Giraud wrote a 17,000 word memorandum for Marshal Petain, giving his analysis of the fall of France. Part of this document was printed in the Feb. 1 issue of *Life* magazine.

Giraud employs typical fascist demagogy in this document. He briefly criticized the degenerate and "pleasure seeking" wealthy class in France, but saves his real blows for the workers. France fell because of the 40 hour week, because of the payment of decent wages, and because the workers were not sufficiently "disciplined" by their employers — so says Giraud.

Giraud's conception of the strong state is one in which the workers labor long hours for little pay, and in which they have had their trade unions broken by employer "discipline." This is also the conception of a strong state held by the German capitalists.

CONDEMNS EDUCATION

"What did school teach these youngsters and these men?" Giraud demands. "First, egoism, personal interest and the cult of envy. After that the negation of everything spiritual, of everything divine, of everything ideal. Atheism, if not proclaimed, was at least encouraged."

And how was the state to instill in the workers an obedience to God (as interpreted by the employer) rather than an interest in protecting their class interests? Through the Army, says Giraud. But the Army in France was helpless to perform its duty, he explains, because the period of compulsory military training had been reduced to only 4 months.

This was hardly enough time for the officer caste to destroy the class-conscious sentiments of the drafted workers.

Nor was Giraud altogether satisfied with the officer caste itself. In his opinion it had become soft in its handling of the men. "At the base," he wrote, "(it lacked). . .authority. One doesn't delegate authority; one asserts it. Our officers . . . did not dare to command."

DEMAGOGY

In attacking the 40-hour week Giraud uses fascist demogogy to make it appear as something alien to the "French spirit," something that was smuggled into the country and imposed upon the workers against their will. Here is what he wrote: "First of all it was the short English working week which crept in on the Continent and so the number of hours became the contract basis between employers and wage earners. From 48 hours it went to 45, and then to 40.

"Not only the working hours but the working conscience diminished. The job was no longer the thing that mattered. . . The ruin which the Popular Front caused France is immeasurable, but its greatest responsibility was to teach the people of France laziness under the grandiose name of 'leisure'."

MIDDLE CLASS VIRTUES

Fascism is essentially a middle class movement, financed by the capitalists and used against the workers. Giraud understands this for he, like Hitler, attempts to gain the support of the middle classes and to identify their interests with the type of reactionary regime which he (and the capitalist class) favors.

"The war of 1914-18 did not help to sustain this petit bourgeois spirit," Giraud says. "The arrival of Americans, their methods, their supplies, helped considerably to upset their ideas. They got into the habit of continuing in billions or not at all. American methods were adopted, forgetting that France had neither the spirit nor the potential of America."

And so Giraud attempts to clothe his anti-labor philosophy with the middle class virtues of thrift and simplicity and hard work. He charges that under the Popular Front government, ". . . spurious luxury increased. Perfumers made fortunes. The proprietor, the worker, the foreman, the subordinate, each one of them came to think of pleasure first and of reducing work to a minimum."

After pointing out the shortcomings of French democracy, Giraud does not shrink from drawing the full conclusions of his logic. He says quite frankly that the Nazis have the solution to these problems.

"Sincere Frenchemen who have been in Germany as prisoners of war can bear witness to its prosperity and to its physical and moral health," he concludes. "Admittedly the Germans do not perhaps have liberty, but there is certainly neither disorder nor anarchy. Everywhere it is work, the only fortune for a people which wishes to live and live happily. May France remember and profit by it."

Civil Liberties In North Africa

Three months have elapsed since the American army landed in French North Africa. But today thousands of anti-fascists remain in prison throughout the territory.

Exact figures are difficult to obtain, but the following breakdown is made by African correspondents of the *N. Y. Times* (Feb. 6), and by the World Jewish Congress, which issued a statement on Feb. 14.

Spanish Loyalists in prison — 10,000

Jewish Refuges in prison — 30,000.

Aside from those actually in prison, the World Jewish Congress estimates that 300,000 Jews in No. Africa are still victims of the Vichy laws.

Lawyer at ACLU Forum Condemns Attack On Militant

The current proceedings to ban *The Militant* from the mails constitutes a threat to freedom of the press, Osmond K. Fraenkel, counsel in the Scottsboro case, declared at a forum of the American Civil Liberties Union held in New York City last week.

Boston Magazine Adds Its Protest

"At this, our first opportunity, we vigorously protest the action of the Post Office authorities in barring issues of *The Militant*, *Fourth International* and *Labor Action* from the mails," says an editorial in the Jan.-Feb. issue of *The Western Socialist*, organ of the Workers Socialist Party published in Boston.

While remaining in opposition to the principles and policies of these papers, "we wholeheartedly support their right to express their views," the editorial concludes.

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"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX

By Albert Parker

Fight Now to Abolish the Poll Tax

The long and difficult struggle to pass a bill abolishing the poll tax requirements for voting in several Southern states is again under way in Washington.

Several anti-poll tax bills have been introduced into the House of Representatives, but they have all been turned over to the House Judiciary Committee, which is controlled by the poll taxes, and they haven't the chance of a snowball in hell to be reported out favorably by that Committee.

What is necessary therefore is to force the signing of a discharge petition by 218 members of the House. This step would bring the bill to a vote on the floor of the House.

The National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, representing scores of labor, liberal and Negro organizations, has decided to concentrate on the Baldwin bill, H.R. 987, and is rallying support to obtain the necessary signatures.

Discharge petitions cannot be introduced until after the first 30 legislative days of the new Congress, a few days from now.

But labor should begin at once to exert all possible pressure on the members of the House to obtain the earlist possible collection of the signatures needed for the petition.

It should be borne in mind that it took close to two years before the 218 signatures were obtained in the last Congress, with the result that only a few weeks of the session remained and the poll taxers were able to maneuver and filibuster the measure to death in the Senate.

The members of the House must be told in no uncertain terms that they will be fought as allies of the poll taxers unless they sign the petition now. Signing "eventually" and "after due consideration" is aid to the Southern Democrats.

Meanwhile, no anti-poll tax bill has yet been entered into the Senate. According to the *Daily Worker* of Feb. 16:

"Senator Claude Pepper of Florida has been ready for some time to re-introduce his anti-poll tax bill. But he has not done so yet because of terrific pressure from high administration sources. The jitters in some administration circles on the poll tax issue are based on the fear that it will antagonize influential Southern politicians and members of Congress and perhaps split the Democratic Party."

Thus—although the Stalinists would be the last people in the world to draw the necessary conclusion from these facts—the struggle to abolish the poll tax requires a fight not only against the poll taxers and their reactionary Republican allies, but also against "high administration sources" and Pepper himself (whom the Stalinists have praised as "the best man in the Senate").

* * *

The Workers Defense League did a good publicity job early this month in explaining the meaning of the abolition of the poll tax in Tennessee, which leaves seven states still in the poll tax column.

While hailing it as a victory for the labor and Negro movements, Morris Milgram, WDL national secretary, warned that special circumstances had operated to abolish the poll tax in Tennessee which did not exist in other states, and that therefore it would be a dangerous illusion to believe that the poll tax can be removed by state action in the other states as easily as it was in Tennessee.

This warning is especially appropriate in view of statements made by various newspapers, the effect of which would be to lull the opponents of the poll tax into believing that there is an effective legislative alternative to Congressional action against the poll tax.

Milgram points out that "Repeal (of the tax in Tennesee) will be used by some malicious persons, and by others who are ignorant, to hinder passage of Rep. Joseph Clark Baldwin's poll tax repeal bill in Congress, by claiming that state by state repeal is thus proved feasible. The fact is that Tennessee was the only one of the eight poll tax states where repeal could be done easily, by a single session of the legislature."

Furthermore, Milgram declares, it so happens that Democratic Boss Crump also wanted the poll tax repealed because it costs him a lot of money each year to run the elections, and that Crump, who controls the state Democratic machine, could have blocked the repeal if he had wanted to.

Milgram also draws attention to the joker in the situation so far as the Negro people are concerned, "for a permanent registration law, passed along with the poll tax repeal, and the Democratic Party's white primary rules in certain Tennessee counties will surely bar most independent Negro voters from the polls."

International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

More Darlans and Girauds are feared by Count Michael Karolyi, left-liberal President of the first Hungarian Republic who in 1919 peacefully gave way to the Hungarian Soviets. Discussing the situation in the Balkans, writes in *Reynold's News* of London:

"Millions of peasants are on the move. They have been oppressed and starved for generations. They are land hungry. They see in the liberating armies of the United States the hope of destroying not only the Fascist invaders, but their own brutal ruling classes. . . .

"Because of these facts, the Darlan episode in North Africa has struck a heavy blow at the cause of freedom in the Balkans. There are plenty of would-be Darlans in these countries. . .

"The Allies have got to choose whether in this war for freedom they are going to secure the support of millions of peasants and industrial workers or whether, like Hitler, they are going to attempt to rely on a few thousand landlords and capitalists. . ."

* * *

The underground French Socialist paper, *Le Populaire*, gives us another angle on General Giraud. In an account of the meetings between Petain and the Comte de Paris, one of the pretenders to the French throne, the paper stated on Sept. 15, 1942, almost two months before the North African invasion:

"A vast project is brewing, and it already has its key men, Generals Bridoux and Frere, and Dr. Menestral, all drawn from Marshal Petain's circles. THEIR TRUMP, THE MAN WHO COULD BE OPPOSED TO GENERAL de GAULLE, IS GENERAL GIRAUD. The object is the restoration of the monarchy."

When Mr. Gallacher (lone Stalinist in the House of Commons) asked if the British Home Secretary, Mr. Morrison, had his attention called to a meeting organized by some pacifist group, the following exchange took place:

Mr. Gallacher: "Is Mr. Morrison aware that the body responsible for this meeting has now sent out a circular letter to many M.P.s which is typical Goebbels propaganda?"

Mr. Morrison: "I welcome the recruitment of Mr. Gallacher to the ranks of law and order and I will keep a very close watch on this body, but I suggest that he should not get into a state of neurosis too early" — from the British War Commentary of January.

* * *

"If there is one thing observers of public opinion are agreed on, it is that the members of the various services and the civil population are haunted by the fear that the end of the war will see the return to mass unemployment. There is no other issue comparable with this in the public mind apart from that of the war itself. It is this fear which lies behind the insistence with which the demand for post-war plans is being pressed."

So states the Jan. 8 issue of the British "Left" Laborite weekly, *Tribune*, in discussing the recent reorganization of the English Cabinet.

In this reshuffling of government posts, Laborite Arthur Greenwood, who asked Sir William Beveridge to write his report on social insurance, was ousted from his seat on the War Cabinet.

Inadequate as the Beveridge plan is, it took hold in the minds of the English workers.

In order to prevent the recurrence of such a situation, Churchill ousted Greenwood, who had arranged for the Beveridge report without consulting the Tories in the War Cabinet.

This is just one example of the way the British government is moving to the right, says the *Tribune*. Another example it cites is the recent appointments of only the most die-hard Tories to important colonial posts.

Furthermore, Churchill has appointed an increasing number of Tories to the War Cabinet so that now there are eight Tories to three Laborites.

Dispute Over Size Of Army Raises A Vital Question

What Kind of Military Training Will Protect Interests of the Labor Movement?

BY JOHN SAUNDERS

In the recent period the War Department's policy on the size of the army has been meeting with opposition from several members of the House and Senate, led by Democratic Senator Bankhead of Alabama. Ex-President Hoover has added his criticism of the generals who demand a huge army irrespective of its effect on the national economy and of the solution of the transportation and supply problems which make it well nigh impossible to ship and take care of such a big force overseas.

What is the point, asks Hoover, of taking men from the factories and the farms when they are needed to increase production for the home front as well as the war front, and when the army cannot properly make use of these men because of the submarine menace which has created a bottleneck in transport ships and escort vessels that could be alleviated if these draftees were kept in their plants?

But the opposition of these prominent Democrats and Republicans has been brushed aside, and it appears that the advocates of an army of over 10,000,000 will have their way.

THE GERMAN WAY

In modern war several workers behind the lines—some estimates say as many as eleven—are necessary for each soldier and sailor taken into the armed forces. Because of the tremendous number of troops engaged in the actual fighting and the still larger forces needed to supply them with war equipment and food, every belligerent has been faced with the same problem, especially Germany and the Soviet Union, whose armies are the largest.

In the earlier stages of the war before last year's Russian winter offensive, the Nazis managed between blitzkriegs to return a sizeable number of their soldiers to work in the factories. The battles were generally not too far from the German homeland and although this shift in manpower placed an additional strain on the already overburdened railroads, the advantages accruing to the Germany economy more than made up for the difficulties in transportation. (The Red Army has since made this tactic highly dangerous and impractical.)

This German plan of utilizing soldiers for civilian production has been suggested by many prominent members of Congress as a solution to the manpower problem of this country.

But since American soldiers fight on foreign battlefields and since the transportation of these troops with their necessary equipment is the weakest link in the U. S. war program, it is quite obvious that the fighting soldiers cannot be brought back to the home front during intervals between campaigns—in facts, aside from the wounded, cannot be returned till the end of the war.

What these gentlemen have in mind, then, is to break up the training period of the armed forces in this country and, while they are waiting to be shipped, to use their manpower and skills, in the factories and the fields at the low rate of army pay.

AN ALTERNATIVE

But why take these men out of their jobs in the first place? If military training of such a large force is necessary, can't a better way be found of providing it?

Can't the workers, while remaining on their jobs, receive military training from four to eight hours a week under a training program controlled by their trade unions and financed by the government?

The advantages of this proposal and the answer to arguments that workers might raise against it can be presented easily enough.

In present day society all the great questions are being decided arms in hand. The workers need military training if they are to be able to resist the attacks of the fascists, and a union-controlled program would provide it for them under the most favorable conditions.

For one thing, the workers would not have to give up their jobs or union conditions or the wages which are so vitally necessary for their families' struggle to meet the ever-rising cost of living. Military training would be regarded in the same category as production, and for it the men would receive the same wages as they now obtain for production, including overtime pay for work or training over the 40 hour period.

Furthermore the workers would receive military training in a democratic atmosphere, under the leadership of union militants and officials elected by themselves.

ADVANTAGES

Such a union-controlled program would have a far less drastic effect on production, and consequently the wartime economic conditions of the masses, than will result from the plan for an army of more than 10,000,000.

By far the greater part of military schooling that is essential for the modern soldier can be taught in the vicinity of the plants and even on the factory premises.

If workers were needed for actual warfare, the training they got under this union-controlled program plus a comparatively short period of intensive training in maneuvers would fit them for combat.

It must not be forgotten that it was the heroic workers of Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad, TRAINED IN A SIMILAR MANNER, who helped the Red Army stop Hitler's armies at the gates of these cities and then hurl them back toward their own frontier.

Sen. Warren Austin (R., Vt.) standing, and Rep. James Wadsworth (R, N. Y.) discuss the labor conscription bill they have introduced into Congress. They have agreed to amend the bill to include a clause to break down closed shop or other forms of union security. (Federated Picture.)

TWO DEMANDS

This question of training the workers may become one of life or death for the unions, for the proposals to utilize the army for civilian production will become ever more insistent as the manpower shortage becomes more acute. This drive by the forces of reaction must be met by two positive proposals on behalf of the unions:

1. **Military training under trade union control, a logical extension of which would be government-financed, union controlled camps to train workers as officers.**

2. **Payment of trade union wages for soldiers, so that, for one thing, if soldiers are sent into the factories and on farms, they will already be receiving the union scale of wages and cannot therefore be used to lower the prevailing wage standards.**

Even if soldiers are not used extensively for production during the war, there is danger that they will be so used immediately thereafter during the process of demobilization. That is why there should be no large gulf between pay for workers in and out of uniform. The equalization of pay should of course not be achieved in the manner advocated by the "liberal" columnist, Jay Franklin, who calls for a reduction of wages to the low army level, but instead by increasing soldier' pay to the trade union standards.

OUR MOTIVE

Despite the lies of Mr. Biddle, we have no hidden motive in advocating military training under the control of the trade unions. We don't raise this question for the purpose of advising the defenders of Big Business how to protect their interests or how to run the war program. On the contrary, we are concerned only with defending the interests of the masses.

We feel certain that in the chaotic conditions which are being engendered by the war and the catastrophic decay of the capitalist economy, the native American fascists will resort to the same strong-arm methods that were used by Mussolini and Hitler when the capitalist systems in their countries were in jeopardy. A working class trained in the use of modern weapons will at least make some of these gentlemen and their followers pause.

Military training under union control is the best alternative to other training programs being pushed by anti-labor forces. It is also the best guarantee against the victory of fascism in this country. These are two good reasons why every militant worker should support this program.

Gandhi's Fast And India's Fight

(Continued from page 1)

masses to more determined elements unless the Congress party heads did more than sit quietly in jail, Gandhi has finally had to make a dramatic move.

If Gandhi acted to turn the attention of the masses back to the Congress in order to keep them under "responsible" leaders, in turn his action has undoubtedly precipitated new struggles against the British Raj. A new wave of arrests is reported of people participating in street processions demanding the release of Gandhi. The great textile city of Ahmedabad—whose workers went on general strike on Aug. 9 and were still out as late as Oct. 24—is again a scene of struggle. James MacDonald reports in the Feb. 14 *N. Y. Times:*

"According to reports reaching London, Ahmedabad has already taken the lead in staging a demonstration of protest over the treatment of Gandhi. Upward of 100,000 workers in the big textile mills that have war production contracts with the government went out on strike within a few hours after Gandhi began his fast. . ."

With the aid of most American correspondents, the British Raj has attempted to picture the mass civil disobedience movement as having spent itself shortly after it began. The censorship keeps from us most of the facts. However, one grisly index of the real course of events are the casualty figures released from time to time. Here are three sets of figures:

Sept. 15 (by Home Minister Maxwell of India): 658 Indians killed and 850 wounded in the five weeks since Aug. 9. There had been one machine-guning from an airplane, said Maxwell.

Oct 8 (by Amery, Secretary of State for India, speaking in the House of Commons): 786 Indians killed, 1376 wounded—i.e., an additional 128 Indians killed and 526 wounded in the three weeks since Maxwell's figures. Pressed by a dissident Laborite in Commons, Amery admitted that there had been FIVE airplane machine-gunnings of crowds: Aug. 15, 16, 21 and 22, and Sept. 6.

Jan. 1 (Figures reported by Maxwell on Feb. 12): Up to the end of the year, 940 Indians killed and 1,630 wounded or injured by the police or military—that is, an additional 154 Indians killed and 254 wounded in the twelve weeks since Amery's figures.

British figures on Indian casualties are notoriously unreliable, always minimizing the number of dead and wounded, as has been demonstrated many times since the Amritsar massacre of 1919. Nevertheless these figures indicate the fact that, although the main outburst of mass struggle took place in the first five weeks, it has continued without letup ever since.

Figures for arrests given by Home Minister Maxwell on Feb. 12 in Bombay also indicate the mass character of the struggle. He reported that between the start of the civil disobedience campaign Aug. 9 and Jan. 1, there had been 60,229 political arrests, 26,000 being convicted and 18,000 being detenues — held indefinitely without trial.

The casualties of a movement are not the best kind of index of its activities, particularly in the case of civil wars and colonial struggles for freedom, where often a large part of the casualties come not during actual struggle but when the vengeful rulers murder unresisting or imprisoned victims. Instances of this kind are notorious in India.

Apparently such instances have taken place also during the present struggle. On Sept. 11, 1942 a dissident Laborite, Sorensen, charged in the House of Commons that ten days before in Dacca prison 34 "security" (held without trial) prisoners had been killed and 137 wounded; in Bhangalpur prison 28 were killed and 100 wounded; in Allahabad prison others too were killed and wounded.

Secretary of State for India Amery answered Sorensen without volunteering any details, merely claiming that "in each case it was a prison mutiny." Far more likely, in each case it was vengeful murder.

It is clear, then, how unsatisfactory an index of struggle are the casualty lists made public by the British Raj. Nevertheless, it is one of the few indexes permitted us by the censorship and in any event indicates the murderous panic of the rulers of India.

Deepening Economic Crisis

Gandhi's hunger strike indicates, for the reasons we have adduced, that the Indian masses are more determined than ever. Moreover, in the six months since Aug. 9 a new goad is pushing the masses — the ever-worsening economic situation. Food shortages and inflationary price increases have brought a new stage of hunger to the hundreds of millions who have always known hunger. If the situation was dynamite before, the economic deterioration is a fuse, lighted and connected to the bomb.

That the economic situation underlies Gandhi's action is indicated in one of the letters he sent to the Viceroy demanding his release. In it he refers to "the privation of the poor millions, due to the India-wide scarcity which I cannot help thinking might have been largely mitigated, if not altogether prevented, had there been a bona-fide national government responsible to a popularly elected Assembly."

Gandhi understands very well that no one can hope to lead India's masses who does not come forward now and at least formally side with them in their fight for food against the British overlords.

(This is the first of a new series of articles on India. The second will appear next week.)

Atrocity Reports And The Hate-Campaign

By M. Morrison

It is difficult for many persons to believe that the Soviet press is actually carrying on a hate-campaign against the German people as such. Such persons considered the article of Ilya Ehrenburg in the Sunday magazine section of the *N. Y. Times* of some weeks ago as the individual opinion of a journalist writing for the American public. It will be recalled that in that article Ehrenburg stated that the Soviet people are not fighting for internationalism but for the Russian motherland and that they are imbued with a fierce hatred for the German people.

Those of us who understand that the Soviet press reflects only the ideas of the bureaucracy did not conceive of the possibility of Ehrenburg's presenting such an important idea as hating the German people unless that was the policy of the Soviet press, that is, the policy of Stalin. Maurice Hindus, writing a series of articles for the N. Y. Herald Tribune immediately after his return from the Soviet Union, confirms the hypothesis that the hate-campaign is part of Stalinist policy.

According to Hindus, there is no longer any distinction made between fascists and Germans. The slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite" has been replaced, both in *Red Star* and in *Red Fleet*, by the slogan, "Death to the German invader." Not only do the Russians hate the Germans, according to Hindus, but they also "want a reckoning with the home folk in Germany who demanded or felt grateful for parcels from Russia . . . looted by the Reichswehr . . ." Hindus does not explain whether individual Germans will be put on trial for feeling grateful or whether it is assumed all Germans feel that way and hence should be punished. It would seem that the latter is the correct interpretation.

* * *

The terrible atrocities committed by the German army and the conclusion that the German people give their consent to and condone these atrocities are cited as the reasons for the campaign of hatred in the Soviet Union towards the German people.

I have the feeling that we can accept the reports of atrocities committed on the Soviet population as true. In an article in *Fortune* Magazine dealing with the treatment of war prisoners, the statement is made that over 1,800,000 Russian prisoners have died, while in the hands of the Germans. Such a huge number of deaths can be attributed only to a policy of exterminating Russians.

It is, however, not necessary to enter into a discussion of the question of the truth or falsity of the atrocity reports. Assuming their truth, as I do, the question is: do the German people as a whole condone the atrocities and is the campaign of hatred against the Germans justified on that account? (This, it will be noticed, is a different question from the one discussed last week in this column, which was, whether or not the German workers are responsible for the crimes of the Nazis because of their failure to overthrow the Hitler regime.)

As Marxists we would never, under any circumstances, hold the masses of people responsible for cruelties which can be attributed, in the last analysis, to the social system. And in the case of the atrocities committed against the Soviet army and population, the overwhelming evidence is that the German workers do not approve of them in the least. When the German workers had a chance to vote, they showed their hostility to the Nazis. In the elections that took place before Hitler came to power the working class voted almost solidly for the Social-Democratic or Communist candidates. And we can confidently assume that after ten years of terror and hardships the workers would vote solidly against Hitler.

We need not idealize the workers. Our fundamental theory teaches us that the ideas prevailing in society are the ideas of the ruling class. The workers are not super-intellectuals who do not permit themselves to be affected by the poison of prejudice and hate that exists in capitalist society, especially in its stage of decay.

Only because economic conditions compel the workers to struggle against the capitalist system is it possible to clear their minds of the manifold superstitions and prejudices with which they are innoculated by the ruling class. And it is not until capitalism will be replaced by socialism that mankind as a whole will free itself of all superstitions and prejudices.

In the ten years that the Nazis have had control of all the facilities for propaganda, they have undoubtedly succeeded in corrupting many of the youth, even amongst the workers. It would be a miracle were it otherwise.

Are not the minds of many American workers poisoned against the Negroes? Do not American workers participate in lynching orgies? Shall we then blame the American workers for the conditions that permit hate for the Negroes? Marxists try to educate as many American workers as possible against such unreasoning prejudices. We know that the struggle against the capitalist system and the final victory of socialism will alone root out the hates and prejudices that many American workers have for the Negroes. And it is safe to assume that the baseless idea of racial superiority taught by the Nazis has less of a hold on the German workers than the idea of white supremacy has upon the American white workers.

* * *

It is not even correct to blame the German army as such for the atrocities. One must be careful not to ascribe free choice to soldiers. We are dealing with men under the strictest discipline who may be shot for the slightest violation of an order.

We can further assume that in the army the youth who have absorbed, most readily and most fully the nonsense taught by the Nazis, predominate. We can also assume that among the young officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, there is a goodly number of corrupt Nazis who would not hesitate at any cruelty. It does not take a whole army to perpetrate the foulest crimes. A group of vicious Nazis in every company is capable of committing all the atrocities ascribed to the German army.

* * *

The campaign of hate against the German people has, as its motivation, not only a desire to win the war but also a preparation of the minds of the masses for the complete subjugation of the German nation. If the Germans are all cruel Nazis, then it is necessary not only to defeat the German army but to put the whole people in a strait-jacket—to disarm the German nation, to destroy its heavy industries, to divide the country into small principalities or do anything else that will guarantee that these bad people will never again be able to wage war.

There are of course many simpletons who actually believe that there is something in the German people that makes them cruel. There are others who may not believe it, but propagate that idea on the assumption that if they get the people to hate the Germans, they will fight more zealously.

Answering Rex Stout's proposal to begin hating the Germans so that the American people will fight them all the harder, Pearl Buck correctly pointed out that the best fighters are not those who hate, but those who have an ideal to fight for. The Red Army, under Lenin and Trotsky, were taught to fight for international socialism and the best fighters in the Red Army were the young Communists who actually fought for international socialism. It is generally agreed that among the best soldiers in the Spanish Civil War were the members of the International Brigade, **most of whom enlisted because they were willing to give up their lives for an ideal.** No hate of a people is necessary to fight fiercely for the Soviet Union.

Stalin permits the hate-campaign of the German people for the same reason that the leaders of the capitalist nations permit it. But he is moving cautiously. On the one hand he states that this is not a war against the German people; on the other hand he permits his flunkies to preach hatred against them.

Which line Stalin will follow depends solely on conditions prevailing in Europe subsequent to the defeat of Hitler. If he can come to an agreement with England and the United States, it may be necessary for him to cite the Ehrenburgs as heroes. If he cannot reach an agreement with the two powerful capitalist nations, the Ehrenburgs may be publicity and properly punished for their heresies.

With the Stalinist bureaucracy and with leaders of the capitalist class hating or not hating the German people depends on their immediate political interests. With revolutionary Marxists to hate no people but only to hate the system that engenders hatred and prejudice is a sacred principle.

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"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **Defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

Overtime Pay And The $25,000 Limit

The $25,000 salary limit, imposed by presidential edict last year, appears now to be headed for the scrap basket. On Feb. 13 the House Ways and Means Committee reported out the Disney bill which would return to their 1941 level all salaries affected by the salary edict.

Indications are that this boon to the high income group will pass a Congress which seems determined to place the heaviest possible burden on the masses while gently sparing the wealthy, whose income other than salaries has not been limited by the administration.

Even as the Disney bill was being groomed for passage, the halls of Congress echoed with demands for the end of overtime pay to workers. Senator Reed announced on Feb. 12 that within two weeks he would introduce his bill to outlaw overtime pay for less than a 48-hour week.

The views of Congress seemed to be neatly reflected in the recent speeches of Captain Edward Rickenbacker, who is spearheading a propaganda drive aimed at the elimination of overtime pay for the workers and the abolition of all restraints on salaries and incomes of the wealthy.

Interviewed in Philadelphia by a *N. Y. Times* reporter on Feb. 14, Rickenbacker said: "In times like these, I do not approve of overtime pay."

And in the next breath he added that he was opposed to the $25,000 salary limit because it would limit initiative, and because "anybody is entitled to work and be paid for it."

In Rickenbacker's logic, a worker is unpatriotic to expect a few cents overtime for extra hours worked, but a rich man is to be pitied and assisted if his salary is limited to $25,000 a year.

Rickenbacker is somewhat crude, but he is only expressing the same views as the employers and reactionary Congressmen, who have grown bold and arrogant on seeing the workers bound by no-strike pledges and betrayed by leaders who capitulate and call for retreat at every turn in events.

The drive to abolish the $25,000 salary limit is important chiefly as a symbol. The drive to lower wages and living standards is a far greater threat to the labor movement.

The workers must meet it not only by letting Congress know that they will not tolerate any further cuts in their living standards, but also by creating an Independent Labor Party to replace the present anti-labor crew in Congress with representatives of the union movement.

Rumania Offers To Transfer 70,000 Jews

The Rumanian government last week announced its willingness to allow 70,000 Rumanian Jews to leave that country for any refuge selected by the Allies, provided the democracies would agree to accept them. This was reported by the London correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, C. L. Sulzberger, on Feb. 12.

The more than 10,000,000 Jews of Europe and North Africa have undoubtedly been the chief sufferers at the hands of capitalism in its most horrible manifestation: fascism. The agony of a people has been intensified by the war.

The sadistic program of Hitler and his satellites toward the Jews is well known: debasement, slavery, ghettos, overwork, starvation, torture, mass butchery in human slaughterhouses.

The Allies are using Hitler's treatment of the Jews as an important bulwark of their propaganda. They are able to point at the martyrdom of the Jews, and thereby win to the support of the war not only the Jews, but also the masses of workers, and large sections of other races, religions and nationalities such as the Negroes, who have tasted the bitterness of persecution.

But up to now the commiseration has been nearly exclusively verbal.

Before the war, when hundreds of thousands of desperate German and Austrian Jews clamored at American consular offices for permission to enter the United States, only a trickle were allowed visas. The great majority had to wait, entrapped, for deportation to the slave-ghettoes of Eastern Poland, which are merely a stop en route to certain death at the hands of fascist detachments trained to kill humans on a large scale.

Even now the bulk of the anti-Semitic laws remain in effect in North Africa.

The offer of the Rumanian government is another test of the sincerity of the Allied governments. Here we cannot say what caused this government to make the offer; the important fact is that such an offer was made.

Will America open its doors to these refugees, a small percentage of the millions who are doomed?

If past experiences teach anything, these refugees will have to await certain extinction. They will not be allowed haven. Anti-fascist propaganda is one thing — action another.

Only by a mass outcry, not only from the Jewish-American, but the American masses as a whole, can the doors of life be flung open to these 70,000.

Save these 70,000 from the Rumanian torture chambers and slaughterhouses! Open the doors to the refugees!

McNutt's Order

War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt has served notice on all men between the ages of 18 and 38 employed in a number of non-war occupations and industries that they will have to find work more closely connected with the war by May 1 or face draft into the armed forces, regardless of the number of dependents they have. The McNutt ruling affected people now employed as elevator operators, waiters, candy workers, etc.; and McNutt warned that the list would be expanded in the near future.

The chief purpose of this ruling appears to be the mobilization of a greater number of workers for the war industries, which in some areas are already experiencing manpower shortages.

But one of the important results of this ruling will be additional discrimination against minority groups who are already being discriminated against.

As is well known, employers in many parts of the country refuse to hire Negroes and to a lesser degree Jews, Filipinos, Mexicans, etc. Although in some sections war industries have relaxed their Jim Crow hiring policies and have taken on some members of these groups, it is generally agreed that they are still discriminated against, especially in skilled jobs. Many of the Negroes, etc., employed at jobs on McNutt's new list tried again and again to get into the better-paying war jobs and were rejected; that is why they still hold service jobs.

Will they be able to get war jobs two months from now when they couldn't two months ago? Not unless steps are taken to make the employers stop discrimination. And since the administration has shown little intention to do anything about Jim Crow in the place where it is most rampant, the South, it seems a foregone conclusion that one result of McNutt's new ruling will be that Negroes and other minorities, through no fault of their own, will be drafted when they might otherwise have obtained deferment, or will be drafted earlier than they otherwise might have been.

Discrimination because of color or religion is always vicious and reactionary and against the interests of the whole working class. That is why *The Militant* opposed it and fought it and sought to eradicate it in peacetime. Discrimination is equally reactionary in wartime, and even more dangerous, as the probable results of the new McNutt ruling indicate. That is why in wartime *The Militant* still calls on the labor movement and the Negro people to continue and if possible intensify the struggle against all forms of Jim Crowism everywhere.

Equal Pay for Equal Work by Women

The Civil War in Yugoslavia

The Military Aspects And Political Roots

By John G. Wright

The underlying causes for the conflict between Mikhailovich and the Partisans are both military and political. The two of course are inseparably bound together.

Taken on the military plane the differences between the two camps are easily understood. The Partisans have from the very outset followed the line of the most active resistance, seeking at all times to unfold their military activities to the fullest possible extent regardless of the difficulties and sacrifices involved.

They have gained serious successes and have diverted large Axis forces. According to the latest reports — both from London and Moscow — an Axis army of more than 100,000 is at present engaged in a campaign to destroy the Partisans.

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the importance that the Kremlin attaches to active resistance behind Hitler's lines: the Red Army is thereby unquestionably rendered tangible aid. Thus, in its official statements on the victory of Stalingrad, the Kremlin assigned to the Yugoslav Partisans a share of the credit for the successful defense.

MIKHAILOVICH POLICY

Mikhailovich's policy, on the contrary, has been to curb active resistance. This is now admitted even by London. C. L. Sulzberger has been permitted to cable:

"General Mikhailovich's chetniks, working under the direction of the Yugoslav Government in London and guided to a certain extent by the British . . . feel the launching of a widespread campaign of resistance at too early a date would cause useless sacrifice. This accords with British theories of political and military warfare." (*N. Y. Times*, Jan. 31.)

Mikhailovich intends to keep his forces intact for the simple reason that he cannot easily replenish them. He stands for the Karageorgevich dynasty and the restoration of King Peter, now an emigré in England. Under this monarchy he proposes to reconstitute pre-war Yugoslavia.

Such a program has no attraction whatever to the non-Serbian majority of the population in the country, especially the Croats and Slovenes who were subject nationalities under this regime and who have violent objections to returning to this status. It is also highly questionable whether the majority of the Serbian peasants would favor the return of the monarchy, which means, among other things, the retention of the large landowners.

In any case, the present base of Mikhailovich's support is very narrow and this dictates in part his refusal to engage in large-scale clashes with the occupationists.

PARTISAN AIMS

But it was precisely on the grounds of military necessity that the Kremlin found it impossible to accept these "theories of political and military warfare." Failing an agreement with Mikhailovich, Stalin could obtain the desired military results only by utilizing a different policy in Yugoslavia.

The Partisans, with Moscow's backing, have been openly advocating self-determination for all nationalities in the country. The latest declaration of the Partisans reiterates that:

"The people's liberation movement accords full recognition to the national rights of Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia, as well as to Macedonians and others." (Daily Worker, Feb. 16.)

In line with his policy, Mikhailovich seeks to preserve intact the governmental apparatus in the country, with the possible exception of a few of the most notorious collaborators with the Axis. But in order for popular resistance to unfold this apparatus had to be completely shattered and replaced by an entirely different one.

Here is how the case is stated in an official document of the Partisans:

"ALL RESPONSIBILITY"

"In order to rally all of the population to carry on this difficult struggle against the occupationists, it is necessary to create such public organs which would best answer the demands of the situation, which will be nearest to the people and which would take upon themselves all of the responsibility in the name of the people.

"The former gendarme, police and county apparatus cannot and do not answer the needs, because this apparatus is infested with elements of the enemy, because this apparatus up to now has been in the service of the occupationists, and the enemy still has influence on this apparatus through its agents. Aside from this, this apparatus does not enjoy the confidence of the people and is not suitable for the present critical days. We consider that the national liberation committees, which the people themselves are establishing, are at the present time the most suitable organs on which we can rely." (*"The Truth About Yugoslavia,"* P. 5.)

A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Under the reign of the Partisans not only have the former authorities been replaced by local committees, elected under a democratic procedure unprecedented in the Balkans, but consistent attempts have been made to establish a central government based on these committees. The first was set up more than a year ago with its capital at Uzice from which it was driven out by the combined forces of the occupationists and native fascists.

A second existed for a short time in Kocevje, Slovenia. The third was established last November in Bihac Bosnia from which, according to the **Daily Worker** of Feb. 16, it has just been driven by "more than 100,000 German, Italian, Croatian fascists and Mikhailovich's chetniks."

Mikhailovich and the ruling clique he represents are naturally irreconcilably opposed to the formation of a rival government which they do not and cannot control. They want it destroyed above all because of the policies it has pursued. Our next article will deal with these policies.

Censors Are Busy On Both Sides Of the Atlantic

Censorship appears to be extending its way not only within this country, but between this country and others.

Last week *The Militant* office received its copy of the Jan. 9 issue of the *New Leader*, organ of the Independent Labor Party of Britain, with a large section cut out from Page 2.

The title of the article which had been cut was "U. S. Through Socialist Eyes." The section of the article which had been cut out was labeled "American Liberals Say:"!

The liberal U. S. monthly, *Common Sense*, has been getting some of the same treatment. The February issue reports that "the Censor refused to let the April and June (1942) issues go abroad.

"Censorable material, we finally discovered, dealt with discrimination against Negroes: in the April issue, the refusal of a large number of New York State defense firms to hire Negroes; and in the June issue, the refusal of the blood banks to accept blood from Negro donors."

CRDC Adopts Resolution On Carlo Tresca

NEW YORK.—The National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, organized to defend the 18 convicted in the Minneapolis trial, passed the following resolution on the death of Carlo Tresca at its Feb. 9 meeting in New York:

"Our National Committee meets for the first time without Carlo Tresca, who was murdered on Jan. 11 by an unknown murderer.

"Carlo Tresca was one of the organizers and a Vice-Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. His activity in the Minneapolis case was the latest of hundreds of cases in which he helped lead the struggle for the cause of labor and for democratic rights.

"We condemn the murder of this working class leader and urge that every effort be made to uncover the executors and authors of this political crime.

"We will honor Carlo's memory by continuing the fight for democratic liberties in which he gave his life."

Workers' BOOKSHELF

EXCHANGE SHIP by Max Hill. Farrar and Rinehart, 312 pages, $2.50.

The point of view of Max Hill, head of the Associated Press office in Tokyo, is simply that of American white chauvinism, more than usually vulgar.

Mr. Hill contributes to our knowledge of anthropology with the discovery that "in every race there are men who are cruel. But with the Japanese it's a mass instinct." From this he came to understand "how the children in my Tokyo compound could choke my kitten, drop his body on the doorstep and scamper off laughing after what they had done."

He deals at great length with the indignities, humiliations, etc. suffered at the hands of the "little yellow bastards," and he wonders at the tenderness afforded the Japanese internees by the great heart of America.

There is little of informative value to be gathered from this book. He treats the Japanese political scene like the smart, in-the-know, behind-the-scenes guy that he is, and we get the same Black Dragon Gang, Mitsui interests sensationalism which has filled innumerable columns of the American press for over a decade. He does, however, note that whatever differences exist between the ruling groups, "there is one fear they all share—Soviet Russia, and its possible influence on Japan." This fear of a Japanese 1917 led to a 15 year purge of all left-wing leaders, communists and liberals.

A few important facts are to be found in Mr. Hill's references to the reaction of the colonial slaves of Britain and France to the Japanese invasions of Hongkong, Singapore and Indo-China. He reports the defection to the Japanese army of a considerable number of Indian troops, especially at Hongkong.

Mr. Hill is indignant at the Indians who, in Singapore, "took over the chore of watching us.... They were renegade Indian troops. . . It was a cute Japanese trick to permit the Indians to guard us. In effect they said: "You watch the white men who were your masters."

In Indo-China "the three main nations, the Annamites, Tonkinese, and Cambodians, welcomed the Japanese from the first. They have never liked the French. There are some who think the natives now work for the Japanese under duress, that Japanese methods have turned them strongly against the invader, but I saw no evidence of such a feeling."

In Hongkong, the extent of the defection of Indian troops was such that Hill is compelled to note that "a major factor was the failure of some of the Indian troops to fight." He adds the glib explanation that "They had been corrupted long before by Japanese money and Japanese guile."

He also adds to these slanders the accusation that the Indian nationalist movement is chiefly a fifth columnist, Japanese-inspired movement.

To anyone acquainted with the reality of British rule, the absurdity of Mr. Hill's contentions can be explained only by the type of mentality nurtured by the imperialists which conceals all inconsistencies within the fog of the racial mysticism of white superiority. The rising tide of colonial and proletarian revolution will override the "Exchange Ships" and their rotten cargo, giving the final and only answers possible.

Reviewed by R. LEWIS

Oil Interests Blocked Synthetic Rubber Program

By DINA SANDERS

That interests favorable to the petroleum industry were responsible for blocking the production of synthetic rubber was indicated last week by Senator Guy M. Gillette, chairman of the Special Senate Committee Investigating the Rubber Shortage, in an article in the Feb. 15 issue of The Progressive.

"At the time of our entrance into the war, it was well known that Russia, Poland and other European nations had made rapid strides in the production of synthetic rubber from various sources and by various processes," Gillette states.

". . . Notwithstanding the weight of evidence which was then at hand and has since been accumulated, our steps in the direction of this goal have been uncertain, unsteady, hesitating, faltering, and stumbling."

Pointing out that production of rubber by the petroleum method would take more than three times as long and cost five to eight times as much as producing rubber from alcohol obtained from agricultural products, Gillette says:

"Notwithstanding the assembly of these facts, it seemed impossible to break through the closely integrated group in official life which seemed determined to prevent the entry of agriculture into this field of production. The Senate Subcommittee found it necessary to introduce legislation to break the jam. Congress passed a bill for this purpose which was subsequently vetoed."

In 1942, 650 million dollars was allocated to the petroleum interests for production of synthetic rubber, after the above facts were known. Then it was found that those plants would be unable to start producing rubber before late 1943 or 1944. Gillette sums up:

"America wants rubber. America must have rubber. . . We have supplies from which this rubber can be made. . . We have proven processes with which these supplies can be translated into rubber. We have the engineering and technical skill to put these processes into production. . ."

AND we have a rubber shortage.

The petroleum industry is controlled by the Morgan-First National, the Rockefeller, the Dupont and Mellon interest groupings.

Question Statement On Lend-Lease Aid to China

Roosevelt's statement on Jan. 8 that "today we are flying as much lend-lease material as ever traversed the Burma road" was questioned by Madame Wellington Koo, wife of the Chinese Ambassador to Great Britain, in a speech at Philadelphia on Feb. 1.

"President Roosevelt has said that as much is being flown into China as ever went over the Burma road," Mme. Koo declared. "What he did not say was that, of all the lend-lease materials, China gets only 2%, the rest going to England and Russia.

"What he did not say was that, of this pitiful 2%, only half ever got to Burma and that, of this, only half again ever got into China."

At the time when the greatest amount of material was being carried over the Burma road, it was purchased through Chinese financing; a very small percentage was actually lend-lease aid.

Madame Koo went on to explain that China is on the verge of "economic collapse" because of the pitiful assistance from the United States. She declared that China needs food as well as guns, and gave examples of serious inflation there.

For a person connected with diplomatic circles to question the President's statement, and to suggest that his statement might be covering up how little aid is actually being sent to China, is indeed unusual, and must be regarded as an indication of how strongly the Chinese feel about the "pitiful" trickle of materials to their country.

The day after her speech, Madame Koo told the press:

"I realized my statement might give implications which were never intended and perhaps the word 'collapse' was ill-advised.

"What I desired then, and still desire, is to impress on the American public the serious economic threat to the Chinese people and the necessity of relieving the economic siege or Japanese blockade by some radical method before Chinese strength is further sapped."

It is significant, however, that in her retraction, Madame Koo did not withdraw the part of her speech dealing with Roosevelt's statement.

Still Another Scandal About War Profiteering

While it is anxious to have the masses regard the war as a crusade against fascism, Big Business knows only a dollar patriotism.

This was demonstrated once again last week when charges of falsifying production costs on munitions for the Army and Navy by an estimated $1,418,617 were made against officials of the Triumph Explosive Inc., at Elkton, Md., in indictments issued last week by a Federal grand jury in Baltimore.

Additional indictments announced in the case reveal that the swindle involves not only heads of the Triumph plant, but also three civilian inspectors for the Army and Navy and representatives of a large Washington contract brokerage, who are accused of bribery, false representation, and conspiracy to defraud the government.

According to the Department of Justice, the president and vice-president of Triumph appropriated over $500,000 for their own personal use.

A single count in the indictment enumerated 25 instances of account-padding including $50,575 for a pension trust for the company officials; $7,956 for liquor charged to the purchase of "raw materials," $1,688 for haberdashery, and $80,106 for personal expenses.

The chief civilian inspector for the Navy at the Triumph plant, Reginald Gregory of Elkton, is charged with accepting an outboard motor, a bicycle and a $160 suit of clothes as bribes.